

Papers of Hugh Dalton:
Original Manuscript Diary

Volume 43:
January - May 1952
(Folder of Loose Manuscripts)

Reduction Ratio:

12 x

DIARY.

(1)

1/1/52.

W. L.

Tomorrow I go back to London. I have been here, apart from one night in London ~~with~~ for meetings of Fabian Tax Dept. (Tony convening) since Dec 16th the day after my party political broadcast, with its consequences principally on German Remitt.

I have made good progress with memoirs & finished now first drafts of the first 5 chapters - Childhood, Eton, Cambridge, London, War. For all that will prove there is a great quantity of Diaries & Notes, so that if I die at once, my literary Executors will be able to get something written up.

But for those first five chapters, apart from two War Diaries, for France & Italy, there is very little written & I have had to ~~draw on~~ ^{fish from} the ~~reserves~~ ^{reserves} of memory. ^{NOT successful. Not} ^{concluded} is much the most difficult to write, & risks being a string of notes ^{as too long.} I have tried to keep them amusing.

Mrs. Hopper is typing 1+3.

1 carbon to be kept at W. L.

The rest in London.

I hope that my two literary Executors will meet at Joseph on Friday, Jan 2nd & remain, after dinner, at Tony's flat for an uninhibited talk.

I have worked down here, on saving trees to be west of the granite garden, were obstruct the Sun, & at clearing the drive, a slow business, repeated for many years.

But R & I have had 3 lots of inter-connected visitors in land. (1) Alan Tait & his wife, Evelyn, Tony's sister, on the 23rd (2) Tony himself on the 26th & (3) Ian & Dora Little on the 27th. (1) & (3) fed on Venison, (2) on a chicken. All 3 successful, I think.

DIARY.

3/1/52

I think there is a slight restraint in my letters (2) with H.G. Quite friendly, but a little reserved & conscientious disagreement between us just before. Let's make it clear (his words) ^{Wednesday} ~~Friday~~ ^{Friday} - Fabian Hunt Mtg. General to be a bit tricky.

Back from W.L. ~~Friday~~ ^{Friday} sense of meeting is that we favour an expenditure tax in place of a surtax, - rates etc to be considered later. Nicky is very clever, but manages to make it all seem rather confusing & confusing. Tony is to prepare a note to make it all clear!

Today H.G. to lunch at Nat. He thinks on profit, but internally & externally, is not ~~really~~ so serious as I come suggest. Terms of Trade should be for any increase may improve. Imports cuts ^{already announced} will have large effect on trade balance. If we can let ^{strong} sterling mean countries to save dollars we shall get that right. No violent cuts in social services will be needed to balance the budget.

He is writing a book on Inflation, Full Employment, etc. He has made the plan.

He is disappointed that Aidan is out of the hunt at S.E. Leeds (Denis Healey is still in.)

As to Bertram, ^{Frank} thinks he just wants to lead the party, & that is all the Bermites want. But he may be cautious too (I speak of Jim Milliter. That month was that he is letting on too (he had a very strong opinion on the issue. I say I am still for unity. He asks what

DIARY.

3/1/52 (2)

H.F. agrees with me that Tony would make the best Treasury Minister any party could have. Whom he has chosen. I have said a lot of things I don't want him to do. I say "don't lose the mind to the possibility of unity. I don't let manoeuvre into a pro-right-wing position. Attack the Tories vigorously when they do wrong." He says he'll do this best. I have already told Treasury officials, when he was invited by Butler to see, that there'll be a hell of a row if unemployment goes above 500,000. They must rely to get a further of labour, more or direct physical contact, & less on ~~more~~ credit restriction.

I say I am thinking quite quickly as yet, about the City & Urban land & planning. He says he has some sympathy with my view about the City. There should be direct contact with clearing banks, not all via Cottrell, & when he has no real confidence. He agrees that he should do something to tidy up the planning mechanism.

I distinguish, & he agrees, bet- working out policy now, in some detail, & winning the next election. But I say that I'm not interested just in winning the election, unless it results in making heaven towards Utopia. We must have enough mandate to do the rest by being, though voters may be won on small things. (but there'll be a row, 2-3 months, with the union in the City, but not likely to split.)

D. Hooley, & Ken, is still in camp at Leeds, by Graham broadcast has done the rolling job in counties.

7/1/52. DIARY.

News today, (Monday) that Denis got 5.5 Leeds
Yesterday at Selection Centre. I had been afraid
it ~~would~~ have gone to a useless local, Kelly.

I write to D. "Wonderful. Foreign sect before
1972? It would be fun to know - or wouldn't
it? You must have done better second go
than first!" And now he must meet &
discuss before next Sat - to take acct of 2nd sit. A
good successor may not be easy to find. And there
will be jealousy & attempts to cut off his salary at
a too early date. We have now to make an
international policy.

14/1/52.

Returned to London & see Denis. He is very delighted. Mr
Phillips has been very friendly. & paid his salary till the end of this
month. This will mean only one week without salary before his
Parliamentary pay begins.

A surprising ~~amount~~ of irritation among E.C. members over Denis
selection. I hear that Election Sat. including Ulean, took very
narrow line on General Principle & will recommend very
restrictive rule to N.E.C. next week. This will hinder
recruitment of able young men to Triumph House, or encourage them
to leave & find other jobs, before trying of a Continent.
Mye says he is "becoming as bad as the French Communist Party -
not middle class intellectual. He is in a bad mood, & I prefer
to avoid. He should have continued all last week's shouting & yelling up
his nose & throat with his little class."

DAILY

23/1/52

Rou let's Hatab & N.C. I have no use for either of them!
(No mention by Hatab, or anyone else, of my broadcast
on Union Report! But they had told me that Pakenham
had written to Atlee, to Hatab, & himself protesting. I thought
Hatab had written to P. that I ~~was~~ had gone beyond
the Party line." P has asked M.P. whether it should be
raised at N.C., but M.P. has discussed this!

Today for you raised of what Churchill had said at Winton,
especially on Korean War. ~~He had said N.C. said N.C.~~
shows issue a statement. ~~He said this would be for Party's~~
Party, next week, after Churchill had made a statement on the
Korean. N.C. said, simply, "Don't let Box & Cox. N.C.
issued statement on Hatab." (Want a base! Always going
back to that!) ~~He said, rather irrelevantly, "if anyone~~
lost in votes in last 2 elections from N.C. At least
30 seats." N.C. replied & said "My advocacy in last two
elections was more votes than I had in the whole of his life!"
I said "Could we take the end of this verification rivalry!"
He said "jealousy over Denis' candidature at Leeds. N.C.
is very bad mood. Grumbles at "middle class people getting
all first seats of Party. No working man stands a chance
now. Middle class boy at Leeds. Denis still inevitable
on your side. (Heike Denis was to probably bring back up N.C.)
we are ordered on the France Government Party." I said "middle
class, to say on Party don't write for Tribune!"

Diary

23/1/52

My is surrounded by middle class sycophants & how-
 ever - I have written
 N.E.C. make stupid decision that head of Dept. at TPT must
 be made on accepting nomination from an Party (con). later
 - on a point selection. 16 to 6. Jim Griffiths, Sam
 Watson & I in minority.

25/1/52

Meeting with David Donnelly I refused to allow that I said
 I was equally fed up with Statute & N.E.C. "I have myself
 & have my followers" was no good. I thought of Jim
 Griffiths as successor to Allen. D said Mye did not.
 I said Mye was 54, I would never be leader.
 D said Arthur Petersen had joined at Perth was
 settled policy in County House (Farrington, etc) on
 other side of "middle class" argument. That was
~~the same as the~~
 reason it all was!

I said I would tolerate middle aged "leaders" among
 the majority of young people in the Party.

I said in reply to hint that I might rather lead than I was
 change with ambition - day. I had suffered party study &
 decision. I want now to be myself. I to say I want more
 I thought, without put more responsibility collective responsibility.

DIARY

(7)

29/1/52

Party meeting. Bevanites pushing. Weak opposition. H.S. not sufficiently combative against Tony.

30/1/52

German Rearmament

~~1~~ I write this for the first time on Parliamentary Ctee. H.S. rather defensive. I say we must discuss it later. Tony Greenwood says great majority of Party agree with what I said in my broadcast. Good! I'm inclined to like this young man better! He has poise & a certain power of decision.

31/1/52

Party meeting. Foreign Affairs

C.R.T. from the Chair puts the point about Winston's reference to a German Army, I repeats his own points of last February, rather flatly.

G. King, following a hint from me in his passage just before the meeting, as first speaker in debate says they all agree with what I said on Winston on German Rearmament. And Skinner, intervening later and

Repeating H.S. out, says "all agree with my broadcast".

Tony Benn says - he has a very pleasant asthmatic humour - "I didn't know reaction you needed more suspended, a little more reservation more caution", than this has said.

DIARY.

3/2/52

Trevor Evans, Daily Express, rings up about all Nye's publicity last week. Is it true he's planning to visit AMCE this week? I say "Don't be silly! One leader is chosen for a session at a time." Now, "The more I see people love Nye, the more I don't like him." Now "I'm bored with peer-eye." Now "last element, attributed to 'some of socialist big five', goes into his Thursday column.

~~He~~ Nye certainly gives the impression of anticipating all the time. I think Lee is danger of speaking too much, in the House & at Party meetings. But when he speaks in the House he exercises a hypnotic influence over many of our people. It's pathetic & dangerous to watch his eyes fixed on him.

DIARY.

7/2/52

My mind has been moving for some time along the road of avoiding both H.M. & A.B. as part-time Party leaders, or Prime Ministers. Each hates the other too much, & is altogether too personal in his approach to problems, as well as persons!

Today I say to Morgan Phillips that I think Jim (Phillips) is the answer, if Ulean gives up soon. (I hope he will). Mr. Humber writes that J.G. would run against H.M., but says there is much to be said in his favour. (As a matter of fact S. Woodman he would steal a lot of H.M.'s votes.)

I also talk very strongly to J.G. about it. The other two are always at each other's throats. So it may be the Cabinet; & it is in the N.E. zone. Either of them as leader could seriously divide the movement. A.B. keeps on going in the party (H.G.'s Budget, etc.), & forming a clique round him. Some say he doesn't want it, but I believe he does. It is very "middle class", however you define that, and this makes his attacks on the "middle class" (as the Labour, & other) even. H.M. also has his clique, beyond the obvious. The way, I say, is to write Jim in at No. 1 & get H.M. to resign it. J.G. agrees warmly. (He never wanted him to go there.) He says, in his emotional way,

DIARY.

7/2/52 (2)

What our Movement must not be split. Our people count on it not being split. I say that if C.K. Jones

- I hope he went for some years yet - J.S. can hold it together better than any man. He is, I think, very pleased to hear me say this. He doesn't say he would ^{ever} min. I think he would if he got backing. He says that we must keep in touch.

Her, sitting next me at a dinner to North tonight, says, half smiling, half resentful, that I ought to speak up more often rather nervous at the M.E. He also says "I hear you've been talking." That this conversation didn't mean so. He has some spy at some Reg 200, 20 death, or German Recruitment at least. The tide is that, I think, is turning my way. I'm pretty confident that I shall win in the course. But I can deliberately not ^{pushing} ~~bring~~ it up to meet us too.

I never forget H.S. is all this. But it would be soon to try to let the leadership of him in the near future. And I am a little chilled by his excess of "responsibility". I must try to stoke him up. Otherwise the chops just count for nothing.

DIARY.

7 & 8/2/52

Following the King's death, I attend two Accession Councils at St James Palace. At the first on Thursday afternoon, our Privy Councillors, Judges, & the Lord Mayor & Aldermen of the City of London. At the second on Friday morning, only Privy Councillors, including Judges.

Both see a Resurrection Parade, people one didn't remember were still alive & some looking quite peppy and self important - ^{Templewood,} Belisha, Comthorpe, Amman, Hankey, Killoran, Sir P. Lorraine, etc.

At the first meeting we all sign the Proclamation (see Times of Feb 6th). I sign by chance, between Harold Wilson & Nigel Visram!

At the second meeting, Queen Elizabeth the Second appears. She looks very small; high pitched, rather reedy voice. ^{she does her part well, facing hundreds of men in black clothes with long faces.} ^{she will take up this road - whole here - seem to be so early in life.} Killoran & Haldipore get into the front row and block the view for many of us. Woolton's voice, on Wednesday, is non-seating & oleaginous. He gets much worse as he speaks on.

Duke of Edinburgh comes in from the door, in a slate Colman's lounge suit - in black clothes himself, good sign. I think will be very good. I write to Tony, describing the scene, "was for become a Minister of the Crown, you'll be seven years older than you were."

DIARY

7 & 8/2/52 (contd)

On Monday, 11th took Houses of Parliament for in procession to Westminster Hall to receive the body, & then we small part. He will lie in state for three days. Parliament adjourns till Tuesday, 19th. Fined on Friday at Windsor. I am to go to the bar by special train from Paddington, not, as had at first been thought, slow marching behind the coffin from Westminster Hall to Paddington.

The King died, as all must now, peacefully in his sleep. I am now in my Sixth Reign - Victoria, Edward VII, George V, Edward VII, George VI, Elizabeth II.

The history book must now speak of Elizabeth I. The monarchy is very firm & rampant now. But it could easily slip. I don't think it will.

These Parliamentary intervals give me some spare days to be spent at h.c., writing, fairly rapidly. The first draft of Memories I (1887-1931). I am writing it, at least in outline, but in pieces. My Diaries are pretty full, large but quite continuous from 1918 onwards, & of vols II & III there is a large amount of Diaries, Notes etc. I had remembered. I am to finish I at Ebury Sept. 1931. ? "First Flight" (1887-1931)

DIARY.

1945. From my lab book.

VOL II

20/2/52

King's death started again a story that in 1945 he interviewed
 some new Cuban Govt men being found to purchase CRT to help
 E.B. at F.O. instead of me. Mancheste Guardian (Ruff
 Fulford) now refers to it. Herald-Tribune of 9/2/52 made
 something of it. The story was that when he received CRT
 the King said "now before I look at your names, I should like
 to say that I think you ^{showed just} your straight man at the F.O."
~~and that was his own E.B. and asked "wouldn't it be better? He~~
 was a very strong American Cuban." Herald Tribune then
 ended that CRT men switched names & told "a surprised
 Govt lawyer in Berlin to pack his bags for the King's Post Office,
 was a surprise and somewhat relieved in Dalton that he would
 go to the Treasury." This, on my mother's story, was an
 exact transcription of E.B.'s reaction & mine. I was a
 indifferent as between the two offices, having just moved
 one or the other ^{just before} the election. But E.B. would be
 Treasury. Other ⁱⁿ interviews, besides taking over said to
 L. Churchill. I bridge. (It is not to be taken, however, that had)
any of it

— CRT decided the King's intervention & a leader in the
Daily Herald on 20/2/52 & he & I spoke of it, Langford talked
 that day to the Herald. He said "the King, not to King E.B. with
 the British new interview the last Langford it suppose the last
wouldn't the work well together it than King is said I
remember the King was King

21/2/52

" 1 open ... discussion on
Western Defence ...
notes on separate
sheets "

notes not yet
found among papers.

DIARY.

21/2/52 (Thurs)

(Notes on separate sheets) (16)

1 open, by request, discussion on Western Defence and
German Contributions at Foreign Affairs Group of
Parliamentary Party. I speak 2 1/2 hours, rather well.

1 U.K. General speaker 1/2 hour - waffling. Then
a few other speeches, including Denis Healey, (rather
not long, & a bit insensitive to atmosphere); Ken Hill.
Meeting adjourns
with very effectively.

will next week. I had a majority there tonight,
including not only Bevan, but G. Uddell, F. Pent,
G. Le Frere, K. Robinson & others.

Bob Beckett says Macmillan didn't want his
present job (he was after the F.O.). So is always
offering to resign, if he can't let his way, e.g.
on housing subsidy. I got a good deal

of gossip from Bob direct. & some indirectly

from Dick Crosswell & John Straker.

Bob tells John that Edwin Sturt is falling very
fast. If Winston went, Butler will be P.M. & Macmillan F.O.

This is home our next of kin, on his return from Lisbon,
in 28/2/52. He makes a very long & substantial
statement, greeted by not one cheer, either at 11 or in private.
They say he's never, & always losing his temper, in Cab. F.O. & elsewhere.

DIARY.

(17)

22/2/52 (Fri)

(1) have not had some of the... (1) Planning.

Fabian lunch. (2) Short 5 answers with the... (2) Show down

(3) in view of public... (3) Allen Plan, or something like it - for big

purpose... (4) Capital... - to spend on paying off... (5) Large... to Canada, Australia & N.Z. - accepting political... of economic desirability.

Met by two... afterwards!

Later talk with Maurice... &... in smoke room.

Niz, they think, hasn't put a foot wrong since election. He'll go, they think, to

Herbert... not direct... he... they think, win an election with him as leader, but

he might become leader after... I sent Jim

Dear... on... stand in... I sent Jim... Decem-

Week.

DIARY.

22/2/52 (Friday)

Future Leadership.

This afternoon, after a lunch with "Dull Fabians". Tony Crossland looks into the smoking room (he very seldom comes here) & finds me with Maurice Edelman.

We speak of Future Leadership. Will C.K. stick it? M.E. says later at a dinner, since the election, up to 1950 Club, C.K. & Vi came, & he admitted that she wanted him to give up, & then went on with some extraordinary Freudian dream story, clasping a furry hat in his hand and then waking up to find it was something else.

As to A.B., I said to I thought he'd been speaking to much, but not M.E. & T.C. strongly agreed with one another that he hadn't just a foot wrong so far, though Tony thought last week's Party meeting, with C.K.'s Mayhew's attack on the Tribune & Statesman very remarkable & encouraging to Anti-Communist.

~~But~~ Tony said he could never win an election with A.B. as leader, but he must become leader and I'm after we'd won. ~~C.K. must be~~ He might run against him for Deputy, & beat him. But C.K. might be able to beat it for Tony. There is one important thing Jim's willing to do re: resign?

DIARY

(19)

25/2/52 (Mon)

Wrote to C.K.T. about various Parliamentary U.K. on 1 was on
Duty on the Bench (Town Development Bill). They are sitting
Common Room for tomorrow's 1/2 mtg. Convenient for
not there! In my note to C.K.T. I say I stick to that
to Monday I may like to speak at 1/2 mtg tomorrow
Jim Callaghan & Tony Greenwood report that, in my
absence, there was some weakness!

26/2/52

1/2 mtg goes pretty well. I've done a (1/2) writing
up. Write out a Demand Document, leave Mackintosh, Tony
Greenwood & others. Elaine Jones very good; Common
Room good; Bellamy, on our side, definitely helpful;
Shirley (flapping); Heard on our side (2/2/52
Tony worked evening with him) if Jeremy Vernon
by Russians better bring back around Jeremy Vernon
with us tomorrow left tomorrow to be absorbed by Russians
without a fight. Hijon, on many more want to speak.
I write to C.K.T. I want speak today.

In the afternoon Foreign Affairs Debate. Common on
Churchill on Far East. H.M. frighteningly dreary
over our head, mass of C.I. statistics, all boring. Had
Churchill hit back, very effectively, on our appeal
to break

DIARY

20

26/4/52

airfields beyond the Yala, is certain country. This is very
demoralising to our Party, in the Home & the Colonies.
Herbert Williams a new face. Kenneth Young -
pity he's not more magnetic! - makes a very competent
& competent wind up for us.

In the afternoon today (I ought to go there often,
I suffer more from cough & flu!)
Bob Mellin, nice young man. Says my is
very unstable, & his speech is dangerous. He'll
soon be saying "No arms at all!"

28/4/52

(Lunch)

Final meeting of F.A. Group on Women's Records.
Shinwell tries to get adjournment in decision with the
know more about Libs! I say this is the way
for the Labour Party to be late. Let us make up our
own mind now. Shinwell has only been successful
- H. M. Neil (not a little better! he'd said he was on
my side), Payer (Professional Pro-Union) Fred Carter
(Harold's steady) & one other. March 40 or 50!

DIXIE,

(21)

28/2/52

Then I hope we find a time to take the vote. I need
5-45. Then perhaps speak. Then the votes, on a
series of propositions, leading up to the final vote of 32 to
16 in favour of ^{the} Fletcher's proposition. Must

Satisfactory! It's worth a comment in the Chair.

Now will see what particularly close,

2 Party meeting, with 10. Neither Skinner

nor Han, stick it out. But 10. Sitting

immovably, as though had the meetings,

beside the Chairman!

So far so good!

But now there's a danger that the
Disputes that Defence will rise up with us.

1/3/52

Yoshida Regional Council. ^{see from 1st Dec onwards. He should be in the room.} Final meeting.
I address it as public, & then five or off-the-record
talk to private. No sections in ^{movement} in main hall ^{and then main floor.}

DIARY

3/3/52 (Mon)

Rather initiating post-ponement of discussion at Ptz Mtg
 however of German Rearmament on ground (a) that
 main discussion must be on Defeat & White Paper
 to be discussed on Wed; (b) that he can't decide on
 German Rearm till he has particular about British &
 European Army. It was reported, very generally, on
 discussion Foreign Affairs Group & said it was
 rather unsatisfactory. ^{was} asked whether he was
 at all leading that people said it all depended on
 what they said I had been very broad about
 with 2 I replied "not - 1 only." That there was
 no support for pushing it to tomorrow, so I let it
 go, as it was after 10 pm. We were unanimous in
 decided to advise Ptz Mtg tomorrow about German
 amendment, though there was long & rather uninteresting
 debate in reaction to that issue on and of our
 case. I was in favour of this, in order to force
 a vote with our initiative. ^{had this idea really!}
 H.G. very strong up against Germany. ^{Wants a Peace Deal!}
 When battle in German Rearm is
 inevitable & ^{German Rearm is} ^{inevitable} ^{inevitable} ^{inevitable} ^{inevitable} ^{inevitable} ^{inevitable} ^{inevitable} ^{inevitable} ^{inevitable}
 released, ^{German Rearm is} ^{inevitable} ^{inevitable} ^{inevitable} ^{inevitable} ^{inevitable} ^{inevitable} ^{inevitable} ^{inevitable} ^{inevitable}
 (I know) to Ptz Mtg on tomorrow's issue. There will
 be affected German Rearm here? ^{I shall also be going to} ^{Paris to see French Govt.}

DIARY

(24)

6/3/52

Paul's Use determined on strategy action. typed
last C.K.A. showed imp-rt, at special Party meeting on
Tuesday (1) condemnation of those who flouted Party
Decision, (2) re-iteration of standing order, (3) attempt
to be repaired by end of week from each of those who
flouted Decision but he will abide by S.O. in future,
failing those hope to be withdrawn.

only Charles Gide & Tony Gillman were present 3/1.
- all who were 2 111 404 - & he pursued a warning
that if they did it again, Party action might be taken

The ostentatious mass abstention was a shocking
sight & he has given prominence to the Tories.

Michael Foot is speaking at Father's Hall with me
on Saturday! What a coincidence! I am attending
annual meeting of Party on this Saturday afternoon.

Bever & Co have demanded an immediate Party
etc.

Winter might like to take a staff election

now!

DIARY.

(28)

7/3/52 - 9/3/52

In constituency. Annual meeting of C.L.P. goes well. Fred Manner goes chairman. I state case for legal adherence to Party decisions, & read list of Durham M.P.'s who accepted decision & voted for it - including myself & all except Ferryhouse (& Bantley sick). This is received with applause.

Later Mr. Frost (long distance date & awkward coincidence) speaks with me at first public meeting in Jubilee Hall. Talk by him with him. Our conversation is friendly, but he now maintains that no M.P. can have his conduct decided for him by a majority vote of a private meeting. Not much sign of accommodation! Memorize all their week-end scribbles in full copy.

This evening (9⁵) Terry Benn rings me up. We have a long talk on the telephone. He is all against a split. Thinks ~~the~~ Paul & Uree may be beaten on proposal to interview him unless undertaking given. Would Paul & Uree then resign? I said I thought not. T.S. had spoken to many who were very doubtful of our wisdom. I spoke later to G. Chatterton who was doubtful & Reg Jenkins who was inclined to see it through.

DIARY.

9/4/52

(Very weak and tired in (Larkin) meeting) (lasts quite for long, 2 1/2 hrs brought to a point.) (27)

meeting of Paul's tree, at home Jim Callaghan, Alf Roberts and 1, with some support from others, removed the Stansbury Deception. Alf Roberts to lead it, Healey & Peart & Havelock Williams to be included in reserves, Buttramley in front of. Stayed the out. HM sits silent through this, though it means displacing Gordon Walker from his leadership.

Grouping, particularly by Stanzell & Edc, what loss of contact in the Chamber & the Barometer. Jesters, brightened old men! J.C. & 1 2 others very all this.

Some great talk on Shawson, led by Tony Ullenswood. He is never here. Later, at Chris's request, I ask him to speak on Monopsonia. That he will be in doubt, now is feeling rather dissatisfied about his position, wondering whether he should not resign his post. Of course, he should have become either L.C.J. or

Minister of the R.S.M. in the 1945-50 Paul. He says to me that he'd really like to speak on a free affair. 1 Dinner!

1 refusal to speak on Lussing. Bring on young people - "we older ones have had a very good evening, & shall have some more." CRK, intending to see some very cats just home days.

DIARY.

(28)

20/4/52

I have been at W.L. with R for 10 days, - Meg Scott for half the time, a nice child of 14, very happy, but gabbles, & eats very slowly, & is rather clumsy with her hands. But she enjoys making bonfires with me, and picking wild flowers with the Morgan family.

I have written a wocky book, - each of the 12 chapters of Vol I are now at least partly written. I count now, I write to Tony, who as one of my literary executors takes also a legal interest in this book, ~~that I am~~ ^{on} finishing it before the end of the Parliamentary Summer recess, but that I want to do better than that, so as to make time for my new P.F. - secondary writing work. I have a sun-reddened face, & hope now, after all, to make the Trinity report done with Tony and ~~Philip~~ ^{Philip} Thackeray. Parliamentary business having been changed.

I read yesterday in the N.Y. Times of 16th that Rifat Tiranca is dead. He died of heart attack in Madrid. He was 44 years old. With his wife, Little America U.S.A., & his son he had come to negotiate a 200m front to Spain, as Deputy Chief of U.S. National Security Agency mission to Spain. Such a handsome, gay, intelligent Albanian! One of my most attractive students at LSE. I helped his wife's first ^{in 1930} husband in when in 1946, he drove me round & he had a head talk. Alas!

[Diary - 20/4/52]

29

N.Y. Times 18/4/52
**R. TIRANA, ECONOMIST
ON MISSION TO SPAIN**

MADRID, April 15 (UP) — Rifat Tirana, deputy chief of the United States Mutual Security Agency Mission to Spain, died here last night of a heart attack. He was 44 years old.

Accompanied by his wife and two sons, Mr. Tirana arrived here on Thursday to take part in negotiations between Spain and the United States on a \$100,000,000 grant.

He was well versed in Spain's economic situation and represented the Export-Import Bank contracts affecting the remainder of the \$62,000,000 loan made to Spain by the United States last year. His death is expected to delay the pending negotiations on the grant.

Mr. Tirana, who was born in Albania, lived in Washington, D. C. A third son also survives.

In the Thirties, Mr. Tirana was on the staff of the League of Nations, performing various tasks as an economist. With the invasion of Albania, he migrated to the United States and later became an American citizen.

A book by him, "The Spoil of Europe," written under the pen-name of Thomas Reveille, was published in New York in the summer of 1941. It revealed the Nazi technique in political and economic conquest.

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

THE LABOUR PARTY
N.E.C. 30.4.52.

CONFERENCE OF BRITISH, FRENCH AND GERMAN SOCIALISTS

at Bonn, 27th April 1952.

Report by Hugh Dalton, M. P.

I was accompanied by Wilfred Burke, M.P., Mark Hewitson, M.P., Barbara Castle, M.P. and Morgan Phillips.

We spent the whole day and a good deal of the night at the S.P.D. headquarters, a very pleasant, new, two-storied building on the outskirts of Bonn. We were most hospitably and amply entertained.

Schumacher was ill and Ollenhauer took the chair. Other leading Germans were Carlo Schmid, Eichler and Wehne. The French were represented by Mollet, Grumbach, Le Bail, Andre Philip and others.

Both Ollenhauer and Mollet made very long opening speeches. The British contributions were much shorter.

Ollenhauer said that as regards the proposed German Defence Contribution, the S.P.D. were not fully informed of the present discussions between Governments. But they would vote in the Bundestag against German participation in the E.D.C. in its present form. There was discrimination against Germany in her exclusion from N.A.T.O. The proposed links between N.A.T.O. and the E.D.C. were not enough.

There was also discrimination in the proposed "contractual agreements" which could not be discussed separately from the Defence Contribution. The status of British, U.S. and French forces in Germany would remain quite different from that of U.S. forces in the U.K. Many features of the occupation régime would continue.

They took the view that it would be unconstitutional for the present Bundestag to ratify the E.D.C. treaty. There was no reference to defence in the present German Constitution, which had been adopted in 1949. The S.P.D. maintained that the Constitution must, therefore, be amended, and this would require a two-thirds majority of the Bundestag, before the E.D.C. could be considered.

The S.P.D. had filed a suit with the Constitutional Court which had first to decide on its own competence and then on the merits of the matter. (I pursued this question, which seems to me very important, with the Germans at a later stage, when Carlo Schmid said that they expected a decision from the Court on its competence next month and, assuming that it declared itself competent, a decision on the merits in July. He thought that, from a legal point of view, the S.P.D. had a very strong case. He and Ollenhauer both pointed out that the S.P.D., whose strength was close on one-third of the Bundestag, could defeat any proposal requiring a two-thirds majority).

Ollenhauer continued that this Bundestag was elected in 1949, when none thought of German rearmament as a practical possibility. The German people had never pronounced on this matter and if the Bundestag ratified the E.D.C. by a narrow majority there was danger of serious disturbances, including large-scale strikes in some parts of the country. There would be a "crisis of democracy." The Adenauer Government, backed by the U.S., thought it could go straight ahead and disregard these constitutional questions. The S.P.D. claimed that there should be new elections to the Bundestag before August 1953, at present the prospective election date. If Adenauer resigned new elections could take place and it was possible - though Ollenhauer did not rate this very highly - that his present majority might crack, particularly in view of developments in the new South-West state, where the S.P.D. had formed a Government with the Free Democrats and put the Christian Democrats into Opposition.

As to the Soviet Notes, the S.P.D. wanted a positive and speedy reply. They had no illusions about Russian motives, but they wished to test Russian sincerity by concentrating on the issue of free elections. He insisted that a peaceful solution of the German problem was only possible through a Four Power conference. As recently as last March all parties in the Bundestag, except the Communists, agreed that this should be their attitude towards the Russian Note but, when the S.P.D. put down a motion asking that nothing should now be done by way of commitments to the E.D.C. to bar the possibility of all-German elections, the Government parties voted them down and it was clear that they now meant to go ahead and sign and ratify the treaties without reference to the Soviet proposals.

They must have real assurances of free elections in the Russian zone but they should not concentrate on any one form of international control, e.g. the U.N. This insistence was intended to kill the Russian negotiations altogether. If control was effective, it might equally well be a Four Power control, or a control through neutral countries. Adenauer had tricked them in negotiations and had betrayed confidences (this point was developed at some length). Their view was that no treaty should be ratified, nor even signed, for a German contribution to Western defence, until the possibility of agreeing with the Russians on free elections had been fully tested, though he agreed that we should not allow discussions to drag on for an unreasonable time.

Ten days ago Ollenhauer and Wehne had seen McCloy, who had said that the Russian Note must indeed be replied to, but that meanwhile negotiations should be speeded up to sign the E.D.C. treaty and contractual agreements as soon as possible.

Ollenhauer said that there was no difference of view between Adenauer and the U.S. Government. Adenauer had said that he saw no hope of getting agreement with the Russians (Wehne later said that Adenauer had informed the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Bundestag that he had been responsible for getting the Western Powers to put additional arguments and conditions into their reply to the first Russian Note so as to make agreement with the Russians less likely).

Ollenhauer said that the U.S. policy was determined, not by the needs of Germany, but by the time table of the U.S. election campaign. He referred to Adenauer's declaration last week that the E.D.C. treaty and the contractual agreements would not be binding in future on an all-German Government. Such a Government would be free to re-open the whole question. Ollenhauer said that everybody had been surprised at this but what surprised the S.P.D. was that we were surprised.

As regards the attitude of the Trade Unions, this was complicated by the existence of Catholic Trade Unions. But Ollenhauer maintained that the great mass of trade unionists were in support of the S.P.D. Several leaders who had leaned towards Adenauer had been repudiated and there had been violent reactions by their membership. The D.G.B. (the German equivalent of the T.U.C.) had called a conference and decided to leave a decision to the political parties.

Regarding the eastern frontier they did not wish to discuss this now but to concentrate on free elections. The view of the S.P.D. was that German frontiers should be those which existed in 1937 and there was no likelihood of their changing this view. (I said that the Germans must not count on the support of the British Labour Party in any threat of coercion to change their frontiers. The lesson of history was that frontiers were only changed by war. The Germans replied that they would never support a war with this object, but Wehne said that, in addition to the 1937 frontiers, many Germans would require the Sudeten land to be returned to Germany. Morgan Phillips said that this was one of the most serious statements we had heard and there was then some confusion in the German delegation, Ollenhauer trying to cover up what he evidently regarded as an indiscretion by Wehne).

Wehne said that the U.S. were using all means of propaganda on behalf of Adenauer and against the S.P.D. They did not want Germany to be reunified. "The Occupying Powers want to cheat us out of our democratic rights." The Americans wished to rush German rearmament and had been saying that two years hence we should be strong enough, with the aid of German units, for the "big ultimatum to be put to the Russians." This, he understood, would include a demand that the Russians should give up their present internal régime. This must mean war.

Carlo Schmid added, on the constitutional point, that he did not think that President Heuss would sign, or agree to the ratification of, the E.D.C. treaty before the Constitutional Court had given judgement. If Adenauer insisted on forcing through the E.D.C. treaty, before the decision of the Court, he would put himself outside the law, and the consequences of this could not be foreseen.

Mollet spoke at length but, I thought, most unhelpfully. He seemed to have gone back on the agreement that we reached in Paris that the Russian Note should be taken seriously and the possibility of free elections pursued. He now said that the French socialists could not agree to free elections, or to the reunification of Germany, unless it was clear beforehand that the united Germany would surrender a large part of her national sovereignty and would be an element in a European Federation. He again pressed us to declare our position. He realised, with great regret, that we were

unwilling directly to enter a Federation, but he wished us to define more closely what we meant by "association." (I said in reply that, as had been repeatedly stated by Labour Party representatives, both in and out of office, we were prepared for inter-governmental co-operation but not for anything involving decisions on matters of vital concern to us to be referred to supra-national bodies).

Mollet was afraid that unless the E.D.C. went through the Americans would pull out of Europe, both militarily and financially. If U.S. economic aid to France ceased, there would be a financial panic and economic collapse. On the other hand, if the U.K. was not prepared to enter the E.D.C. and if the constitution of this remained as proposed at Lisbon, he would advise the French socialists to vote against the ratification of the treaty.

Mollet also wished to extend the discussion to cover the general questions of European co-operation outside the field of defence to the form of the continued collaboration of socialist parties, but Ollenhauer, with our approval, decided that we should concentrate on the other matters before us.

Grumbach, as usual, expressed open disagreement with Mollet. He was against the rearmament of Western Germany in any event, because this would prevent German unity and would lead to the rearmament by the Russians of Eastern Germany. (It seems clear that this has not gone very far at present). Nor did he think that the U.S. would move out of Europe precipitately. They were in Europe for their own interests. But there was undoubtedly heavy U.S. pressure on both Germany and France to get their own way. He would not put the integration of Germany with the West before the reunification of Germany. To insist on German rearmament now might do irreparable damage to German democracy.

I tried to get an agreed statement, for the Press Conference which we found had been called for 6 p.m., to the effect that, although none of us had any power to take decisions, but only to report back to our Executives, we were agreed and would recommend to our Executives that:

- (1) we should press for an early reply by the Western Powers to the Russians, concentrate on speedy discussions on whether free elections could be assured,
- (2) meanwhile no irrevocable or unconstitutional steps should be taken towards signing or ratifying the E.D.C. agreement, and
- (3) representatives of our three parties should meet again in the near future to take account of developments.

The Germans were in favour of a declaration on these lines but Mollet resisted any declaration, and even a reading aloud of any text, since he thought that he might have to disagree with it. We therefore went to the Press Conference with nothing to say except that we had had a useful exchange of ideas! We had to answer questions as best we could, but no serious embarrassment resulted.

I had re-stated, briefly, during the conference our attitude, namely that we accepted German rearmament in principle but that the timing, method, and international framework was left open for further discussion. I reiterated the four Attlee conditions, repeated as recently as last month in the DAILY HERALD. I spoke in particular of the fourth condition, namely, agreement with the German people. I said I did not interpret this as meaning support of the Adenauer Government. It was for this reason that we were taking counsel with our German socialist comrades.

We were told by the Germans at a dinner which they gave us on the Saturday night that Adenauer had an arrangement with the U.S. whereby the first German contingents raised would be volunteers and not conscripts and that they would be trained in the U.S. This, if true, is most objectionable, since it is the most undesirable Germans (ex-S.S. men, refugees, etc. with a vested interest in a new war) who will volunteer.

My own conclusions, in the light of the above, are that we should:

- (1) press strongly for a reply to the Russian Note on the lines suggested by the S.P.D.
- (2) insist that the fourth Attlee condition should be properly met by German elections before commitment to the German contribution to the E.D.C. and oppose the present attempt to drive the treaty through next month,
- (3) direct public attention to the German constitutional problem, which to me seems most important from the democratic point of view and which I had not fully realised before my visit to Bonn, and
- (4) direct attention to the need for the early equipment by the Americans, in accordance with their promises, of the six French divisions still without equipment, thus going some way towards meeting the first of the Attlee conditions, namely that the rearmament of the members of N.A.T.O. should precede that of Germany.

DIARY.

1/5/52

5/5/52. Desmond ringed
to say that Mr. J.C. Collins, is
resigned to losing his seat in N.E. & has
written to Mr. ...

H.G. to lunch in my flat. He has decided, he says, not to
run for N.E. this year. I said he had been wise. He would
get a bloody nose. I was in luck with him, -
since I would have had 25,000, & he 65 - but, ~~but~~
because there was competition, & it would look cowardly,
& I might have the wrong replacement, I would stand
& fight. He says that he has spoken to
C.A.T. & Mr. about the latter being for the affair. He
suggested to C.A.T. that Mr. should do more leading in
Horn, as well as speaking on Home Front topics.

H.G. didn't think we can recast now ~~what~~ about
General Reannant very important.

Very pleased with way Finance Bill is going. No
Beveridge trouble here. I still feel my relations with
H.G. much as when we I should like them, though
there is no difficulty in discussing all these public affairs

2/5/52.
To B.A. of my day Democrat, - speak at Board
could be with 5 candidates for V.D.C.

3/5/52.
Provisional with Board, Bourne & Talbot. Seen with
large group in transit street. Speak on for a drama
(Alphard) Tea. Deleph meeting. Mr. with accept that substance of
the day having to do with the ...
Article in Review.

DIARY.

2/5/52

34

A great personal victory!
This week I have done very well. On Sunday we
were at Becon - Wilfred Bunt, Mark Hewitson, Barbara
Castle, Morgan Phillips & I - to confer with German &
French Socialists. My report to N.E.C., also circulated to
members of Parliamentary Ctee & a few others, is attached
on a separate page.

The German gave us a tremendous account to eat &
drink. We & they saw more eye to eye than either of
us with the French on this occasion. We also learn
Socialists are still a potential governing party. The French
Socialists meet.

Barbara & I flew back on Monday, - about 10,000
feet so that we were rather sleepy, & I could feel for
2 days that I had a heart - just that & no more. That
afternoon I gave an oral account to Parliamentary Ctee.

On Tuesday morning I dictated to Morris Matthews, of
The House, a Report for N.E.C. This was read to
Party at N.E.C. meeting early Wednesday morning (30/4/52)
I expounded it orally, ending with my own personal
conclusions. I sent it over ~~to~~ for (consideration) with N.E.C.
Secretary, & Secretary, issue a Statement. I saw the
lead on this. Mr. Hewitson "sent it" was a fine

DIARY

2/5/52 (2)

report to be agreed with it all. Then someone (I forget who)
 moved that N.E.C. issue a statement. Barbara recorded
 H.M. opinion (with what individual option). Paul's party
 were discussing, & should be consulted. Summershill
 supported him (she takes me!), but no one else
 will Jim Griffiths (weakly, wanting to be kind) moved
 an amendment that he should prepare a statement
 & communicate it to Paul's Club & Paul's Party. I then
 said this wouldn't do. ~~Then~~ ~~was~~ ~~over~~ a 2.30 pm
 affair of N.E.C. only two alternatives, either for
 N.E.C. to make a statement & publish it straightaway,
 or not to make a statement at all. I expressed
 no preference. Then they voted, & Jim's amendment
 overwhelmingly defeats; say he, H.M. (Summershill)
 votes with. The Pro-Union section & the
 Bermites vote solidly against. I voted against.
 I had a cut, & Peggy Herberton, & Eileen White, &
 Alice Horan. Then on substantive motion how
 we issue a statement, Summershill feel out. So
 there were only 2 against!
 Then someone said quite calmly, that the statement
 should be written down & my conclusions (leaving out one or

DIARY

36

2/5/52 (3)

(consideration question & Germany) 2 has been accepted
without a vote on further discussion.

How to draft? Major Philips L 1 2 CRT.

Someone suggested that, but he refused. In
after the meeting I discussed with deep a number of

Mark Hutterer, in his own office, a draft. L 1/2/52.

21 Saw CRT at 4, L he, after sitting
silent for quite a long time, L then suggesting a
small drafting improvement, agrees to it. He finds
John 5 mid L 1 gave it to Arthur Hans to
work with the Press, L for the BSC.

Then back to work at 5.30 Long discussion in

main hall with nearly 7. Once we come to meet

Week's of the NCC - 2-Discussion German Remarks etc.

If you see the NCC has issued statement, L CRT needs it
with. H.P., Sturwell, Stiles & Philip was present.

- Sturwell most prominent of all. The top 2 are
substantiated NCC. But "some people" staying at me.

DAILY

4/5/52 (Sat)

"have been plugging this for a long time, & making speeches & writing about it outside, made them give me left hand." (!) went about his article in Daily Express on Berman's Book. & on

Berman & Morrison of leadership.

I take little part in discussion, being quite triumphant. How will she look at this? (cont.)

John - a piece a very good summary. How to wind up? Jim C & Tony & myself

me. But has happened since. I don't mean any harm. I only say that we'll start

altering, I shall then write to defend it. General says "oh well, if we're going to have a new, let's have a real new" etc

Spoken on tape at 6 pm. Fred Peart took it to F.A. - great. Made Paul N. & his own admission about 1920's C.K.S.'s. Particularly very interesting. (compliments to you, Don't let me miss it) very interesting. (then says "it is")

DIARY.

(38)

6/5/52

Plz mky on German Remant; etc. C.R.T. opens admirably, strong objection, based on 2 world wars, to rearming Germany, but can't take a vacuum in Central Europe. If they sell no special army, they'll have multiple armies (as in the past), unless they are relieved of all defence burden, they'll be an even greater competitive threat to us in export markets and (3) we couldn't justify our young men fighting in Germany, - Germany doing nothing.

He personally is suspicious of Germans, because there is still a lot of militarism in Germany. He never accepted the Ode-Weisse line, but (Frank) immediately maybe a great danger to peace. The French didn't want the Germans in N.A.T.O. Heavily the idea of E.D.C.

But the proposal that must be strengthened before you begin to arm the German. Americans haven't yet delivered promised amounts French. Translation needed in the Germany to show what people think. This is not just a delaying tactic. There'll be delay anyway.

Not approach to Russian. We must value it up and see whether they mean it.

But afterwards there is a rather unsatisfactory debate.

But George Thomsen asks on point of order, what N.E.C. Dec't is binding. C.R.T. says yes, of course. Then he asks

DIARY

6/5/52(2)

Parliament, against mention me. I could join the
 Anglo-German Association, if I like. (I interjected that
 I had met Clemens last week without joining any
 organization. He asked against attacking German Socialists. Wants
 us to join E.D.C. Irvine for. J. Heard against objects
 to E.D.C. statement being issued at all. Says C.K.'s statement
 didn't sound "either convinced or convincing." This statement
 had been written, 200 pages, but was sitting at end of platform.
 I looked at Dick Stokes, sitting at end of platform, I asked "Does
 he mean for, or against?" (How was sitting at the other end
 & in mid air could be!) John Behind them said he
 meant me, & that it was all very fine for me to say that
 I was cooperating with German Socialists now. That I had
 said before that they were no better than Nazis. I interjected
 to ask what I had said then. And, of course, he
 couldn't say! ~~He meant~~ I added that I mistrusted
 many Germans, but I mistrusted German Socialists less
 than some other Germans. J. B. was very angry!
 Then Strachey for. Bellenger against, saying that it would
 show his loyalty to support N.E. Declan. Crossman for,
 but very strong & assertive. He was concerned in 1952
 because it had killed the E.D.C. (He had been M.C. in
 1951 with hospital kidney appendicitis & had had a leg.)
 Then maybe for Russian rules, but against new Statute (I don't
 think it's election. Then Phil N.B. writing up.

DIARY.

6/5/52(31)

Not too bad. But with a 1952 anecdote. (This is our
Dance, the sixty-to-seventy year olds!)

Delate adjourned till next week. I must speak next
week. A small minority (M.P.'s) is very angry. But
the majority will rally all right - & the movement
in the country even more so.

Balogh to lunch at Joseph's. He is not over
me now. My tone of voice, my pen and
triumph, etc. This reconciliation. In the time

being, is complete. He went on to Fabian E.C.,
where he strongly defended - I heard later - the death
of our Transition group. ^{report} is published with his writing, with
T. & Fabian E.C. Tony told me later that
of Fabian E.C. was arranged about this. But see C. R. &
of Balogh held their ground.

Balogh is
He is doing a paper on full employment & inflation.
He says the only really disinflationary method seen
in war was mine in Nov. 1947. Staffed just held it.
I said I thought a little inflation + full employment in
better than no inflation + substitution money pay
the year.

DIARY

8/5/52

L.J. Behind,

Francis came by Morrison & Spinwell against the
 N.E. Declⁿ - I was, in particular. "Party met"
 began half to discuss it. Then she went off.
 Someone was going to play Phil on second speaker.
 Got. of course, it didn't work off. Fixed that we take
 a P.M. mtg on Tuesday. I'd talk on Home on Wed.
 I've fixed with C.A.T. that I shall speak at P.M. mtg. I
 don't much mind if debate does show disunity. I
 think I, & those now stand with me, will be strengthened,
 as the other weakened, over so.

Black mtg. by Hq. Shirley Winifred among others, against
 Biny for organizing a list of Fed. P.L.'s yesterday. Got
 there on all in support of N.E. Declⁿ. And Spinwell

~~Roll Kenneth~~
 2 Phil jumped up & asked supplementary but helped
 the Tories. Very bad form. I considered remarks
 I roll Kenneth would have had probably missed him
 in some position by making him a first speaker in debate.
 He's the best of the young ones on Foreign Affairs.
 He gave rolls & good story of Winston at some function
 with his fly-butterfly incident. When his attention was fully
 drawn to this, he said "A dead bird would fall out of the nest"
 with "but one" be a good rippling

DIARY

(43)

Speech for Party Meeting, Tuesday, May 13th.

Surprised there should be any serious difference of opinion. I should have thought G.R.A.'s statement at opening of last week's meeting would be accepted by all.

Speak only on (1) Attlee conditions (2) N.E.C. declaration.

Attlee conditions

October 1950. E.B. at W'ton said G.R. "unthinkable". Only under pressure from U.S., and with great reluctance, and with reluctant Cab. agreed to "principle of G.R.", leaving open timing, method and amount for further discussion.

February 1951. G.R.A. made conditions in speech in House of Commons. These followed long and animated discussions in Cab. and were accepted with great satisfaction by his colleagues, the Party and Movement in the country.

These still guide our policy including N.E.C. declaration. No-one ever authorised to set them aside.

K.Y. in last speech on foreign affairs in last Parl. at end of July 1951 said "the P.M.'s conditions still hold good."

Declaration of three Foreign Ministers at W'ton in September 1951 was in very general terms - no reference to timetable for G.R. - and must be held, so far as we are concerned, to be subject to fulfilment of the Attlee conditions.

March 6th, 1952. In D.H. G.R.A. restated the case and repeated his conditions. He said "I think that, reasonably interpreted, these conditions are still sound. Much discussion has taken place since February 3rd, 1951, but it is not yet clear what are the views of the German people."

No-one in our Party is authorised to rush ahead with G.R. and brush aside the Attlee conditions.

N. E. C. Declaration.

What does this say?

- (1) Talk to the Russians
- (2) Find out what the German people really think.
- (3) Fair shares and high priority for arms for the French.

Declaration issued following Conference organised by N. E. C. with French and German Socialists in Paris and Bonn.

As to (1) Russian Notes a new fact of which we must take account. We propose 4-Power Conference limited in first instance to discussing practical possibility of free all-German elections. Is this wrong? Russian Note may be only a manoeuvre, but we must test it and soon. Reply to last Russian Note now delayed more than a month.

As to (2), how can we find out what German people want, unless we let them vote. We can't just line up behind Adenauer. Bundestag stale and unrepresentative, elected in 1949, before G.R. thought of. German Socialists demanding fresh elections, challenging constitutional right of A. to pass defence legislation without two-thirds majority. Speaking of "crisis of democracy and dangers of large-scale industrial action against A. if he won't have elections."

"Undue interference in German affairs?" But we aren't the Government now and are surely entitled to express an opinion, particularly when it coincides with that of German Socialists and even H.M.G. still has some status as one of occupying powers.

N. E. C. say there should be new elections in W. Germany at least - better still in all-Germany - "before any commitment undertaken by the A. Govt. for a German contribution to E. D. C." Asked what "commitment" means. Clearly most serious point is ratification by German and other Parltis. Before this happens, German Govt. can't start to raise or arm German contingents.

3.

As to (3), French have been promised arms by U.S. for six divisions which have not been supplied. Attlee condition that "rearmament of the countries of the Atlantic Treaty must precede that of Germany" requires that these French divisions should be armed before any question of G.R. Is this wrong?

Under Labour Party constitution N.E.C. has the right from time to time to make declarations of policy. These are included in N.E.C.'s report to Annual Conference and can be challenged there. If anyone disagrees with this declaration, I hope they will challenge it at Morecambe.

I am quite sure that this declaration commands overwhelming support in the Labour movement and the country and that it is widely welcomed as clearing the air, after period of doubt and hesitation, and restoring the L.P. initiative in foreign policy which we seem to be in danger of losing.

DIARY

(47)

13/5/52(2)

"a pregnant silence" & there was unanimous approval of
N.E.C. statement. ^{on 2nd Nov.} Tape carried a statement
"Defeat of the Morrison" saying that H.M. had been against
N.E.C. statement, but had found himself out of step with
his colleagues, & had stated that he would not press his
opposition to a vote. Other papers suggested that N.E.C.
statement had been sidetracked in discussion

That night ~~on~~ night sitting on Finance Bill.
D.D. says it should be forgotten how much I've done
for younger people in the Party, from George Brown to
me & Barbara. I say it with very easy for me to
say that.

George Brown 21 Feb. He thinks I'm in danger on
N.E.C. I say, if it weren't for today's year, I'd take
stead down. Case of retiring all from N.E.C. at 65.
Hughes I don't want to be a Minister after. Let
younger people come on. G.B. supports against this.
Wants me still to exercise influence. Anyway, he
says, is no friend of mine. Only a week or two he was
denouncing me in the Sunday paper on one of the more
obnoxious anti-Bernstein. "They won't carry you," he

DIARY.

13/5/52 (3)

Says of the Beromites. I say I don't want on this. The
 the CLP are a difficult ^{accurate} ~~condition~~ to organize
 beyond a certain point. Anyway, I shall break my
 neck if I'm beaten. He says this would be very
 sad. As to future leadership, he I speak of
 of a blind man. He says he thinks Jim Griffiths is
 weakening, & getting softer. I'm afraid he may be right.

14/5/52.

Talk to Alf Robson. Very good. He'd make a
 blind man if he were a bit more astounded. He
 speak of draft road, etc. He says "Don't piss into
 the wind." Don't abandon leadership, but don't let
 needlessly a live your traps. He comments re
 couple resolutions.

In all night sitting, I join a group of dining room
 committee? Jim Callaghan, Woodcock, Edelman & Ray
 Jenkins. Jim is very good for. He says next
 like is for people to hit ^{me} for six. I say "Yes, if
 like you." Jim then, he has, will announce &
 afterwards been saying some good

DIARY.

(49)

14/5/52 (2)

advice to his old friend Alf Berman. He has advised
him to get on to his back benches for a bit. Jim
will read with H.M., on Tpt, & Alf will take a
very minor role. Jim can carry off this sort
of reversal of the roles, with perfect clarity, direction
& aplomb. It'll have to be done in other ways
too.

DIARY,

25/6/52

(50)

J. Hynd, by a "partial" speech at Pitz Mts, on road-trip
to Germany, - work is circulated to members of Party & Coe - is
Paying, no doubt at risk of it & other, to undermine
W.E.C. Deeb. Much Labour is being worked up
against me in Party party as a "near-Bertram". I
can see her very clearly in many round faces near to
George smile at me! Myself I shall stand to Party
Coe again. I can't be bothered to be sucking up
to all these dingy little people all the time, in
~~some~~ tea room or elsewhere. I am too
old for that, not wanting to be a Minister again.

Tonight long discuss on motion to
vote app for in debate on bombing of power
stations on Yala. Very tedious discuss. Finally
I move we do, on grounds of failure to secure
consent: Defeat by 6 to 5 (Vote 5 are Clark,
Shinwell, Callaghan, Tony (renewed 21.) I got
Shinwell's vote by asking "you wouldn't have
failed to get to know what was coming if I
had not been in Defence Ministry!"

DIARY

29/5/52

Mr. Ripst sitting on Finance Bill. I speak on Estate Duty. Terry & Roy have been magnificent & quite established themselves. Terry did a superb ragging speech w/pt 2 weeks. "Kant for Klippant?" he asked after Mr. Power etc. in either side could have done it. His Parliamentary Personality is achieved!

H.G. & dine at Joreff's. I feel our relation much closer tonight than for a long time. He speaks of the future. I say I'm disappointed in J.G. I don't see how to secure L.A. now - unless H.G. (but'll be some time yet). He hopes my return less bad. Write H.G. now that latter is giving up Foreign Affairs.

I say still pretty bad. He doesn't want to change things. He only way I dislike Graham. I say for his sake & mine. I tell H.G. that he nearly threw in his lot with the resigners. H.G. is impressed by this.

I say Terry is in a class by himself. He ought to be H.G. Financial Secretary to Treasury. I want to be connected to Ministry of State & Econ Affairs. Roy the Orator Trade. D. J. is in President's Advisory Trade.

We speak of ethics & more. H.G. says to leave & the world is much better without Terry in it. I don't know how to read things on more.

DIARY.

Whitsun walk.

30/5/52 (Fri)

London to Edale by train. With Anton Blew Knisop & Fred & Barbara Castle. Party smaller than usual, because of Skoshany - some taken away by flying de Freitas & Anton Bottomley & - another now might take leave - Fred Peart; also Whitsun weekend, & holiday arrangements which make, takes George Chetwynd. Tonight we all have address meetings - 1 at Buxton - in High Peak Division. This night will be Wm's last time with a good candidate. Stay, very especially, at Ullamst Hotel, Edale, near the station.

31/5/52

Tom Stephenson arrives, fortunately without wife. Dinner with Tom & Barbara. Programme of today, next day & day after shown on attached note. Joined 2 seconds & third day by Phil Dally - recalls when I'd put on Peak Park Board. - & his wife Eileen. Now on second day & Patrick Monkhouse, of Manchester Guardian, candidate of my nominees in P.P.B.

It's bleak, miserably looking, but magnificently accessible to many millions. Lots of healthy looking young men & women out this weekend. Visit a Y.H., just outside Edale - full of them. Barbara & I & B. make speeches to them.

The most interesting day was the second, when we went up Kinder Scout from Edale by Ullamst meadows, & Ullamst Sainsbrook, then across the plateau to Kinder Downfall, then

DIARY.

(54)

Whitsun Walk (2)

Back along the edge by the proposed "alternative route." TV
Say that Kinder is "Dampfcan", in any sense is never hundred
of the proposed places are, is nonsense. You might
let lost in a mist, & go round & round, & get tired. That
you could hardly fall anywhere & break your neck.

There is really only about 400 yards of peat between
two "grouches", - one leading from the top of Grimsbury, the
other "Kinder Kiva" but with very little water with leading to
Kinder Downfall - where steaks or cairns are badly
needed. Some of the old statements seem to judge
General access to Kinder.

Best solution would be to let National Trust have
whole plateau, with public access to it all, & 2
paths - the one I designated & was he / known
to-day - the other round the edge - an alternative
ending, or beginning, of the Pennine Way. Will report this
in Parliament.

Coming back to the train I had a row with Ted Liddle
- he wants to be candidate for Abingdon - on IVth electⁿ?
He admitted that last year he'd advised Hurdley to "plump for 4
including Arbury, but not to vote for me. I took strong objection to this.
The said Hurdley & H. Wilson will let you. The last place they bet on me & H. H. I
could not let it. I was all over it!